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21 July 1982

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 319

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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### UN SESSION CONTINUES TO URGE PEACE, ARMS CENSURE

OW191237 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 18 (XINHUA)--Calls for peace and censure of the arms race continued to dominate the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament in the past two days.

Addressing the session today, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau said, "The real problem before us is how to break the arms spiral." "A particularly heavy responsibility rests with the two superpowers," he noted.

"An attempt by one side to make strategic gains at the expense of the other will not, in the end, work. Only measures that increase mutual security are likely to offer a way out of the present paralysis," he added.

Foreign Minister of Greece Ioannis Haralambopoulos said today that his country opposes the division of the world into antagonistic blocs.

He said the failure to enforce repeated U.N. resolutions has led to situations such as the present tragic one in Lebanon.

Hussain Mohammad Ershad, head of government and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bangladesh, said at yesterday's meeting that disarmament could not be achieved when there are serious threats to peace and stability.

Disarmament and the reduction of world tension are interlinked, he added. "We must devote all our energies to the creation of a world order where international disputes must be settled by peaceful means and not by force, without which disarmament will remain a distant and vague dream," he noted.

Representative of Ecuador Miguel Albornoz said yesterday that the arms race is an instrument of domination. Security based on an arms build-up is precarious even in the best of cases, he added.

He called for peaceful settlement of international disputes, saying that occupation forces must be withdrawn and the occupied territories given back to the original owners.

CSO: 4000/157

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### IRAN TO BOYCOTT GENEVA TALKS ON AFGHANISTAN

OW190132 Beijing XINHUA in English 0101 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] Geneva, June 18 (XINHUA)--Iran today declared that it will not participate in the U.N.-sponsored Geneva talks on Afghanistan.

It refuted allegations in a recent U.N. press communique that the Iranian foreign minister has designated an interlocutor with Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the U.N. secretary-general, during the Geneva talks.

A statement issued here today by the permanent mission of Iran to the U.N. office at Geneva pointed out that the aforesaid allegations are not true. The statement reaffirmed Iran's position as declared earlier that Iran will not participate in the Geneva talks because "no negotiation can yield any results and be acceptable" "without the withdrawal of foreign armed forces occupying the territory of Afghanistan, without the return of millions of Afghan refugees to their own country, without the guarantee of the right to self-determination for the Moslem people of Afghanistan, and without the participation of the real representative of these people."

The United Nations made it clear in two recent press communiques that the representatives of the Kabul regime, Pakistan and Iran will participate in the U.N.-sponsored indirect talks on Afghanistan. But the fact is that Diego Cordovez has been talking only with the foreign ministers of Pakistan and the Kabul regime alternately since June 16 without the participation of Iran. But the U.N. officials alleged that they had kept Iran informed about the talks. Meanwhile, the Pakistan officials participating in the talks have carefully avoided meeting the officials of the Kabul regime at the Palais des Nations because Pakistan does not recognize the Kabul regime.

Speaking at a regular U.N. press briefing this morning, Cordovez said that his talks with the foreign ministers of Pakistan and the Kabul regime during the last two days had touched exclusively upon the originally agreed four items on the agenda, namely, withdrawal of foreign troops, non-interference in internal affairs of states, international guarantees of non-interference, and voluntary return of refugees. He considered the talks as "a continuing process" and "a part of a series of consultations" designed to achieve "a comprehensive settlement" of the Afghan question. However, he admitted, "there are wide differences between the parties concerned."

CSO: 4000/157

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'KYODO' REPORTS AIR INTRUSION BY SOVIET AIRCRAFT

OW241650 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Tokyo, June 24 (XINHUA)--Two Soviet reconnaissance planes were discovered over the Tsushima Strait around 9 a.m. Thursday, KYODO reported today.

The Japanese news agency quoted the Defense Agency as saying in a report that two Soviet long-distance electronic reconnaissance planes, TU-95 Bears, flew south over the Tsushima Strait, conducted reconnaissance 350 kilometers to the northwest of the Okinawa Island and turned north afterwards. 10 fighter planes of the Japanese air self-defense force scrambled to guard against the Soviet aircraft.

According to the Defense Agency, this was the third time this year that Soviet reconnaissance aircraft operated over the area.

The Defense Agency said two Soviet reconnaissance planes of the same type had passed over the Tsushima Strait last year.

A report from the Japanese maritime self-defense force said that three Soviet warships, a missile-loaded destroyer, a frigate and a patrol vessel, were spotted moving south in the strait around 7 a.m. Thursday.

CSO: 4000/157

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR'S TIKHONOV, GROMYKO MEET JORDANIAN KING

OW261818 Beijing XINHUA in English 1647 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Moscow, June 26 (XINHUA)--Soviet Premier Nikolay Tikhonov and Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko exchanged views with King Husayn Ibn Talal of Jordan here today on the critical situation in the Middle East and the Soviet-Jordanian relations.

The king reportedly arrived here Wednesday to take a rest and acquaint himself with this country.

According to a TASS report, the two sides "strongly criticized the Israeli aggression in Lebanon" and "demanded an immediate end to the Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from its territory on the basis of the corresponding resolutions of the United Nations Security Council."

The report said the two sides favored "the ensurance of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and the creation of a state of their own."

They also expressed the desire to develop further their bilateral relations, according to the report.

It was reported Husayn's talks with Soviet leaders were focusing on Jordan's desire to enhance its air defense system.

CSO: 4000/157

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY ON ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON

#### PLO's UN Observer's Comments

OW190749 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 18 (XINHUA)--Zuhdi At-Tarazi, permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the United Nations, today sternly condemned Israel for its invasion of Lebanon and brutal massacre of Lebanese and Palestinian peoples.

Addressing the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, At-Tarazi said, "Israel's latest in the series of acts of aggression had an unashamedly declared aim--to eradicate the Palestinians--a genocide."

He charged that "the Department of State in Washington made no secret of its knowledge that Israel had such a plan."

Denouncing the U.S. for lavishly providing weapons to Israel and signing with it an agreement of so-called mutual understanding, he said, all this encouragement was made at a time when "the administration in Washington knew about the Israeli plan and preparations for the invasion." However, he added, "the Assembly was told that the Washington administration in Washington was faithful to its commitment to the charter of the United Nations."

In a harsh attack on Israel, he declared, "The world has rarely seen the likes of such a horrifying state which resembles more and more Nazi Germany. The Zionist state aims not only to violate human rights, but to actually eliminate in its entirety a people of the world."

Reiterating the Palestinian people's determination for liberation, At-Tarazi stated, the Palestinian people will resist any and all attempts to eradicate our people. "We shall fight by all means to guarantee our survival," he declared.

## Invasion Condemned in U.S.

OW221302 Beijing XINHUA in English 1239 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 21 (XINHUA)--Well-known columnist Mary McGrory in an article in the "WASHINGTON POST" today asked Israeli Prime Minister M. Begin to "go home."

Her article entitled "Slaughter" reflected the feelings of many Americans who marched near the White House to protest against the Israeli outrageous acts in Lebanon during Begin's visit here to have talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

A Jewish organization, "New Jewish Agenda," distributed a statement today, calling for the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, recognition of each other's sovereign rights by Israel and the PLO, and negotiation for "a peace treaty which may result in the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel." It expressed concern about growing political influence in the Middle East by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

In an article in the "NEW YORK TIMES" today, Fuad Ajami of the Johns Hopkins University said: "The invading army that came into Lebanon with such devastating force came with a great delusion: that if you could pound men and women hard enough, if you could bring them to their knees, you could make peace with them." "This will not work, for it underestimates men's capacity for rebellion and renewal," the article said. The Arab world "cannot bid this conflict farewell on Mr Begin's terms," it added.

An article in the June 17th issue of the "NEW YORK TIMES" said Israel's war aims in Lebanon are clear: Wiping the PLO out of artillery range of Israel's border, destroying it as an organized force, a Lebanese Government becoming strong enough to prevent any reconstituted PLO presence and to oust the Syrian forces if possible. "These are the veiled elements behind Prime Minister Menachem Begin's request for the United States to organize and join a new multilateral force in southern Lebanon. That might serve the short-term goal of arranging Israel's withdrawal, but by itself it would create greater dangers for the U.S. as well as for the ultimate cause of peace," the article said. "It will only add another factor to the conflict, further involving the United States and probably Moscow," it added.

## Castro's Letter to UN

OW240342 Beijing XINHUA in English 0154 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 23 (XINHUA)--Cuban President Fidel Castro Ruz, in his capacity as chairman of the movement of nonaligned countries, urged the United Nations "to take firm, decisive and immediate action to put an end to Israeli barbarous aggression and restore peace" in Lebanon, according to the documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council issued here today.

Fidel Castro recently wrote to the president of the General Assembly and the U.N. secretary-general appealing to them to do everything in their power to end the criminal operation of Israel against the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon and to bring about an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops.

In his message to the president of the General Assembly, Fidel Castro pointed out that "while the Assembly is discussing measures that might be taken to prevent war, halt the arms race and promote disarmament, the Israeli troops are carrying out a most ferocious and repugnant aggression against the Palestine resistance and the Lebanese people."

In his message to the secretary-general, the Cuban president stressed that "mankind cannot watch impassively as the noble and heroic Palestinian people are being exterminated. The Security Council must ensure that its resolutions are complied with. The General Assembly must raise its voice to defend the peoples that are victims of aggression and restrain the aggressors."

#### Lebanese Prime Minister's Resignation

OW261252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1227 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Beirut, June 25 (XINHUA)--Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq Al-Wazzan at noon today tendered his resignation to President Ilyas Sarkis saying he could no longer work effectively under the Israeli military escalation and blackmail.

Al-Wazzan told reporters that he handed in his resignation in protest against an international conspiracy against Lebanon and its people.

Lebanese Government sources said President Sarkis had not decided yet whether to accept Al-Wazzan's letter of resignation.

Al-Wazzan, in the capacity of prime minister, was one of the members of the seven-man national salvation committee which was trying to arrange for an Israeli withdrawal from Beirut by negotiating an agreement on the status of Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon.

Al-Wazzan's decision followed in the wake of the resignation of leftist Moslem leader Walid Jumblatt from the committee.

It was also reported that the ministers of tourism, and economy and commerce as well as other four Moslem ministers backed the prime minister's resignation earlier today and considered themselves as also having resigned.

The wave of resignations clouded hopes for any immediate settlement in Lebanon.

## PLO Agrees to Withdraw

OW011306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, July 1 (XINHUA)--The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreed yesterday to withdraw its armed forces from Beirut, according to reports from that city.

Lebanese ex-premier Saeb Salam announced the PLO's agreement after a 45-minute closed-door meeting with PLO's military commander Abu Jihad. He said that the most intricate problem at present was where and when the PLO would evacuate. The procedure was still under consultation, he added.

It was reported that on June 28 the PLO asked Lebanese President Elias Sarkis and Prime Minister Chafik Wazzan to convey its three conditions for withdrawal to Israel through U.S. special envoy Philip Habib. The conditions include a five-kilometer pull-back of Israeli forces from the southern suburb of Beirut, a token PLO military presence under the Lebanese army's command and a PLO political office to function in Beirut after the withdrawal.

The Israeli Knesset rejected these conditions on the following day. Instead, it put forward a five-point proposal: The Lebanese army must take up positions in West Beirut; groups associated with the PLO must surrender arms to the Lebanese army; all PLO members must leave Beirut and Lebanon; the Israeli army will allow Palestinians safe passage out of Lebanon by land or sea; negotiations must be started to get all foreign forces withdrawn from Lebanon.

Lebanese Government sources revealed that the PLO, though no longer insistent on its demand for a five-kilometer roll-back of Israeli troops, has adhered to its demand that the PLO guerrillas take away all their weapons with them when retreating and the Israeli troops should pull out simultaneously. As to the issue of a token PLO military presence in Lebanon which is opposed by Israel, the Lebanese Government and the PLO are working on a compromise. The Lebanese Government has indicated that it would not oppose a PLO political presence in Lebanon.

Lebanese Prime Minister Al-Wazzan, in successive meetings with army and police commanders on June 28 and 29, has demanded a rapid deployment of Lebanese troops in West Beirut to supervise the pull-out of most PLO guerrillas and their return to their camps on the capital's southern edge.

The PLO press agency reported today that unless an acceptable settlement is achieved, the PLO guerrillas will not leave Beirut and will be prepared for continued fighting.

CSO: 4000/154

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARIES ON KAMPUCHEAN COALITION GOVERNMENT

#### Beijing Radio Introduces Coalition

OW250543 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Commentary from the "International Current Events" program: "Unite and Fight Through to the End for the Liberation of Kampuchean Nation"]

[Text] The leaders of the three Kampuchean patriotic resistance forces, Norodom Sihanouk, Khieu Samphan and Son Sann, on 22 June formally signed the "declaration on the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. They will hold the posts of president [zhu xi], vice president [fu zhu xi] in charge of foreign affairs and prime minister of the new coalition government, respectively.

The "declaration on the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" stipulates the purpose, operating principles, and composition and operation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. The declaration points out: The purpose of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is to mobilize all efforts in the common struggle to liberate Kampuchea from the Vietnamese aggressors with a view to restoring the motherland as a sovereign and independent country and to bring about the implementation of the declaration of the international conference on Kampuchea and other relevant UN General Assembly resolutions.

The operating principles stipulate:

1. The coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is under the legitimacy and framework of the state of Democratic Kampuchea, which is a member state of the United Nations. To this end, the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea will strive to defend Democratic Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations.
2. Each participating party in the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall retain its own organization, political identity and freedom of action.

3. The workings of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be guided by the principles of tripartism, equality and nonpreponderance.

4. The operation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea shall be governed by the principle of consensus applicable to matters of importance.

The leaders of the three Kampuchean parties delivered speeches after signing the "declaration on the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea."

Prince Norodom Sihanouk said: Whatever the future holds for us, you can be assured that the patriotic Cambodians--descendants of a great people with a glorious past--will continuously reject a Vietnamese protectorate, and will continue to fight, as do the Afghan and Palestinian people, to one day recover our sacred right to self-determination and dignity.

Khieu Samphan stated: The formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea reflects the deep wishes of the Kampuchean people. Now our task is to make this government operate in a good way, in conformity with the spirit and letter of this declaration, to achieve the objective of rapidly driving all the Vietnamese aggressors out of Kampuchea and ending the immense sufferings of the Kampuchean people brought about by the Vietnamese aggressors in order to reconstruct the independent, neutral and nonaligned Kampuchea.

He told a XINHUA reporter in an interview: The establishment of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea has dealt the Vietnamese invaders a direct blow and encouraged all the Kampuchean people.

Son Sann said: On this historic occasion, I wish to reiterate that we are resolute in our determination to liberate our homeland from the foreign military occupation as soon as possible, and that all Cambodians of all political tendencies are united on this point.

He told a XINHUA reporter in an interview: The patriotic forces of Kampuchea should unite to force out the Vietnamese aggressors.

#### Beijing Commentary Views Government

OW250227 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Station commentary: "A New Development in the Kampuchean People's Struggle Against Vietnam for National Salvation"]

[Text] The leaders of the three Kampuchean anti-Vietnamese patriotic forces formally signed on 22 June a declaration on the formation of a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea. This constituted a major step forward in their joint resistance against Vietnamese aggression. The Vietnamese authorities, with the support of Soviet hegemonists, invaded Kampuchea in 1979, bringing untold suffering to the Kampuchean nation. In the face of Vietnamese aggression, the Kampuchean people have put up

a heroic and tenacious struggle against aggression in order to safeguard national independence and national survival.

Attaching importance to the national interests and seeking common grounds on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones, the three anti-Vietnamese patriotic forces finally formed the coalition on the basis of equality after much consultation. This tripartite coalition is suited to the development of the anti-Vietnamese struggle, reflecting the aspirations and demands of the Kampuchean people. It will become an inspiration and a motive force in rallying and mobilizing the patriotic strata and the broad masses of people in Kampuchea to support and participate in the struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation and in enhancing the anti-Vietnamese forces. It will also help enlarge diplomatic activities to win more sympathy and support in the world. This is a telling blow at the greater and lesser hegemonists and is conducive to promoting peace and stability in Southeast Asia and Asia. The tripartite coalition of Kampuchea will certainly be welcomed and supported by countries and people in the world that uphold justice.

The Chinese people have always resolutely supported the Kampuchean people's struggle for national independence and against Vietnamese aggression. The Chinese people have always supported the coalition of the three Kampuchean anti-Vietnamese patriotic forces. This coalition has finally materialized following joint efforts. This is a good thing and we welcome and support it. We also hope that the three Kampuchean forces will continue to make efforts on this basis, strengthen unity, abide by the agreement signed and continue to develop the excellent situation in their joint resistance against Vietnamese aggression so as to drive the Vietnamese aggressors out of Kampuchean territory and win final victory in the struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation.

CSO: 4005/972

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY ON ARGENTINA

#### PRC Condemns Britain

OW180442 Hong Kong AFP in English 0428 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 18 (AFP)--China today condemned the British move to retake the Falklands from Argentina and reaffirmed its backing for Buenos Aires' claim to sovereignty over the South Atlantic islands.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry added in a statement, however, that it was convinced the dispute over the Falklands would eventually be resolved "justly and reasonably."

Beijing first hesitated to take a position in the dispute triggered by the Argentine military action in early April to capture the islands they claim under the name of the Malvinas. But as the conflict escalated into war, China came down clearly on the side of Buenos Aires.

China maintains good relations with both countries. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is expected to visit here in September.

"We maintain that the military measures resorted to by Britain cannot possibly solve the dispute between Argentina and Britain over the Malvinas Islands," said the statement by the Foreign Ministry's information department. "Argentina's claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas should be respected." The statement continued: "We believe that the dispute over the Malvinas, a historic question left over by colonialism, will eventually be justly and reasonably solved."

China hopes to keep up close relations with Argentina and other Latin American countries as a hedge against any possible growth in the Soviet Union's influence in South America.

In its statements and commentaries during the Falklands crisis, Beijing condemned the United States for risking its relations with Latin American states by backing Britain. It also accused Moscow of trying to use the conflict to further its own interests in the region.

### Political Parties Resume Activities

OW181621 Beijing XINHUA in English 1604 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Text] Beijing, June 18 (XINHUA)--Argentina's new military junta chairman Lami Dozo Thursday announced that political parties will be allowed to resume free activities in July.

According to the official Telam News Agency, Lami Dozo said a statute will be announced in July allowing "a process of reorganization of the institutions of the republic."

Activities of political parties and trade unions have been banned in Argentina since the military junta came to power in 1976.

Lami Dozo, who also is commander of the air force, reportedly made the announcement after a discussion with senior air force officers about the situation on the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands in the wake of a ceasefire with British forces and measures to deal with the worsening domestic economic problems.

Lami Dozo became chairman of the junta after General Leopoldo Galtieri resigned Thursday.

Referring to the country's future, Lami Dozo said, "If a military fact must signal a point of change, then the period of change must start here and now."

"If we want to build a better country," he said, "it is imperative to eradicate certain bad habits which have long affected Argentine society."

Lami Dozo also said Argentina should not remain "a lab for transplanted economic patterns." Argentina should design its own economic pattern, he said.

### New President Named

OW231622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] Buenos Aires, June 22 (XINHUA)--The Argentine army today named retired Army General Reynaldo Bignone president of Argentina.

A communique signed by commander-in-chief of the army Cristino Nicolaides said the army alone has responsibility for the government's political leadership. "The army suggested General Bignone be appointed the new president of Argentina," it said. "He has agreed to assume the office to accomplish the limited term of a transition government."

The communique said Bignone would be sworn in on July 1.

The air force said in a communique that it suggested a civilian be named president. The suggestion failed to be accepted, the communique said, resulting in the decision of the air force to "withdraw from the political leading body in the process of national reorganization."

However, the commander-in-chief of the air force will continue to be a junta member. Commander-in-chief of the air force Lami Dozo said he would attend the military junta's meetings when questions of security, defense and of the highest interests of the nation are discussed.

The communique issued by the navy said the navy proposed that the president should be a civilian or a retired officer, "but the decision was postponed because of divergence of opinions." The communique said the navy also will stop taking part in the political leadership of the country's reforming process but will continue to exercise "its rights and to carry out its responsibilities."

High-ranking officers of the air force and navy today resigned their services from the junta government. Among them were Minister of Social Action Vice Admiral Carlos Alberto Lacoste, and Minister of Labour Brigadier General Julio Cesar Porcille.

CSO: 4000/156

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY ON EAST EUROPE

#### 12th Congress of LCY

OW221654 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 21 (XINHUA correspondent)--The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is ready for its 12th congress which is scheduled to open on June 26.

The congress, the first since the death of Josip Tito in 1980, is to take place in a difficult and complicated situation both at home and abroad. It has drawn the attention of the league's organizations at all levels.

As early as January last year, the LCY set up three committees to draft the main documents for the congress--a report on the league's work since the 11th congress, a resolution and a revision of the league's constitution. After repeated discussions and revisions by the whole party, the three draft documents were approved at a plenary session of the LCY Central Committee recently.

The first two documents make a systematic summary of Tito's theory and practice of socialist self-management and give credit for his tremendous contribution to the development of the system of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. The preface of the draft constitution points out that Tito's theory and practice is the guiding ideology under which the LCY will continue to develop socialist self-management.

In the course of preparations for the congress, the LCY leaders stressed that the congress will continue to follow Tito's path, strengthen the league's role, seek unity of thinking and action and take practical measures to overcome economic difficulties. The 12th congress will take the stabilization of economy as a strategic task for the period to come.

The LCY organizations in the six socialist republics, the two autonomous provinces and the armed forces held their congresses recently to sum up their work and elect new leading bodies and more than 1,500 deputies to the national congress.

## Energy Saving Measures

OW231320 Beijing XINHUA in English 1242 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] Bucharest, June 22 (XINHUA)--At a meeting today, the political executive committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party decided on a number of new measures for saving energy, according to an AGERPRES report.

These measures are aimed at guaranteeing the development of the national economy and reducing the impact of the world energy crisis on Romania.

In order to guarantee profits for all production units, the meeting resolved to raise the production prices of natural gas, petroleum, other fuels, electricity and heating and at the same time readjust the consumer prices for fuels and rates for electricity and heating as of July 1.

The meeting studied and approved a report on further reduction of the supply of oil-consuming heating in the second half of this year and in the last three years of the current five-year plan. The political executive committee demanded that all the government ministries, production units and scientific research institutes do accordingly forthwith.

The meeting also decided to hold elections at the city (district) and village levels this November as scheduled.

## Hungarian PCC Session

OW261810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party issued a communique strongly condemning Israel's recent aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian people, "NEPSZABADSAG" reported today.

The communique issued after the plenary session of the Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee held on June 23 demanded that Israel stop its armed attacks on Lebanon at once, that Israeli troops withdraw from the area immediately and without any preconditions and that the sovereignty of Lebanon be respected.

On internal issues, the communique said there was a disequilibrium in economic growth in various sectors in the first five months of the year. The volume of foreign trade dropped compared with the corresponding period of last year. The feasibility of export and the financial condition were more unfavourable.

The communique pointed out that the cardinal requirement for economic development in Hungary was to ensure the quality of products. Therefore, economic policy should serve more effectively than ever the purpose of improving the competitiveness of Hungarian products in world markets.

## SFRY Party Congress' Resolution

OW291744 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (XINHUA)--A special resolution adopted by the 12th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia today expressed the determination to achieve economic stabilization through self-reliance and the mobilization of all workers and factors in society.

The resolution, reported by TANJUG today, outlines the strategic commitments in this field: "The bringing of all forms of consumption and of the country's balance-of-payments possibilities into realistic frameworks, the implementation of the anti-inflation program, expanded export of goods and services and, above all, improvement of the country's balance-of-payments position."

"An increase in exports, especially those to the convertible currency area, and the joining on a broader basis in the international division of labor is one of the basic strategic questions of our further social and economic development," says the resolution. In this context, it defines as an economic imperative the objective of reaching the production level of developed countries.

The resolution sets as a long-term task the achievement of the dinar's convertibility.

It gives priority to a faster growth of energy, raw materials and food production.

With a much lower growth of the social product, the resolution says, "The consequences of the country's excessive foreign indebtedness must be overcome, a turn taken in the quality of economic activity, the balance-of-payments deficit eliminated and a solution in depth of the problem of unemployment inaugurated."

The resolution places special emphasis on the further development of self-management and the guarantee of direct workers' control over the entirety of income and expanded reproduction.

The resolution stresses that the ideological and action unity of the League of Communists is of essential importance for the realization of this major social undertaking. For this reason, it says, concrete and well-programmed actions will be taken immediately after the congress.

## SFRY Central Presidency

OW291932 Beijing XINHUA in English 1913 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Belgrade, June 29 (XINHUA)--The 12th Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia held its first plenary session this afternoon and elected a LCY central presidency.

During the first session of the new central presidency, Mitja Ribicic was elected president of the central presidency, whose tenure of office is one year.

Nikola Stojanovic was elected secretary of the central presidency, whose tenure of office is two years.

Trpe Jakovlevski, Vlado Janzic and Marko Lolic were elected executive secretaries of the central presidency, whose tenure of office is four years.

The central presidency will hold sessions in the future to decide on the number of the executive secretaries and then hold additional elections and divide up the work among the executive secretaries.

#### Curfew Lifted in Warsaw

OW010310 Beijing XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Text] Warsaw, June 30 (XINHUA)--The municipal authorities of Warsaw today decided to lift the night curfew imposed here since May 4 together with the ban on student clubs, discotheques and other forms of public entertainment, according to a PAP report.

This was announced by General Mieczyslaw Debicki, who is the mayor of Warsaw, as suggested by the provincial defense committee which held that "public order has seen an obvious improvement recently" in the capital.

Curfew was first enforced in Warsaw with the announcement of the state of siege on last December 13 but was lifted on May 2. It was reimposed two days later because of the demonstrations organized by the Solidarity trade union.

After the removal of the bans in Warsaw, curfew now remains in force only in Wroclaw and several other cities.

Earlier on June 25, the mayor of Warsaw also lifted the ban on the activities of the Association of Polish Theatre and Film Actors.

CSO: 4000/155

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### COMMENTARY ON WEST EUROPE

#### Envoy to Iceland's Departure

OW250157 Beijing XINHUA in English 1224 GMT 22 May 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 May (XINHUA)--The Chinese ambassador to Iceland, Chen Feng, left Reykjavik for home today upon completion of his ambassadorial mission there, according to a report from Reykjavik. He was seen off at the airport by Olafur Egilsson, director of the protocol department of the Iceland Foreign Ministry.

Prior to his departure, Chen Feng was received by Iceland Prime Minister Gunnar Thoroddssen and Foreign Minister Olafur Johannesson. He attended a banquet given in his honour by the foreign minister.

On 18 May, the Chinese ambassador hosted a cocktail party in the Chinese Embassy. Among the 150 guests present at the party were former Iceland President Kristjan Eidjarn; Madame Olafur Johannesson and the secretary general of the premier's office as well as diplomatic envoys of various countries.

#### EEC Lifts Ban on Imports

OW211538 Beijing XINHUA in English 1516 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, June 21 (XINHUA)--The European Economic Community countries decided to lift their ban of imports from Argentina as from today, according to a report from Luxembourg.

This decision was taken by the foreign ministers of the EEC countries at their council meeting held in Luxembourg on June 18. But the foreign ministers of the EEC countries reached this agreement of their ban of imports from Argentina on condition that there is no resumption of hostilities between Britain and Argentina.

At the same time, the EEC countries will continue to ban arms sales to Argentina. Britain made it clear that it will maintain all its sanctions against Argentina until that country guarantees a complete end to hostilities.

Prior to this, several EEC countries including West Germany, the Netherlands and France had hoped to end the sanctions because they were anxious to begin repairing the EEC's relations with Latin America as swiftly as possible.

#### Negotiations Postponed

OW220344 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 22 Jun 82

[Text] London, June 21 (XINHUA)--Britain and Spain have agreed to postpone their negotiations over the future of Gibraltar at Spain's request, it was reported here today.

The postponement means that Spain's frontier with this tiny British colony will not be reopened next Friday as originally planned.

The announcement came after a meeting between British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym and his Spanish counterpart Jose Pedro Perez Llorca in Luxembourg where both were attending a European community foreign ministers' meeting.

In a joint statement issued there today, the two foreign ministers said that the Spanish Government had asked for postponement of the talks scheduled for June 25 and 26 in Sintra, Portugal. A new date would be fixed in due course, they added.

The Spanish foreign minister, Perez Llorca, told reporters in Luxembourg that Britain was clearly not in the right mood to negotiate another colonial sovereignty dispute so soon after its conflict with Argentina over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

Meanwhile, British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym told a press conference today that events of the past two to three months had obviously affected the Spanish view and it was only realistic to take that into account.

However, both foreign ministers made it clear that the two countries were still committed to keeping alive the negotiation process started in April, 1980, aimed at defining Gibraltar's future.

Spain has a long-standing territorial claim on Gibraltar which was seized by Britain in 1704 and then ceded to it by a treaty in 1713. The strategically important British rock colony at the mouth of the Mediterranean covers 6.5 square kilometres and has a population of about 30,000.

#### UK to Strengthen Defense

OW230320 Beijing XINHUA in English 0155 GMT 23 Jun 82

[Text] London, June 22 (XINHUA)--The British Government today pledged to strengthen its nuclear and conventional forces to meet "the main threat" from the Soviet Union.

The pledge was made by British Defence Secretary John Nott at a press conference in conjunction with the publication today of the government's annual White Paper on Defence. The long-awaited White Paper had been delayed for over two months because of the recent events in the South Atlantic.

Nott said in a prepared statement that the main threat to the United Kingdom is from the nuclear and conventional forces of the Soviet Union and her allies. "For more than 30 years NATO has been the prime concern of successive British Governments," he indicated.

Nott said the Defence Ministry would publish another White Defence Paper towards the end of this year when lessons from the Falklands (Malvinas) conflict were further studied.

He reiterated the British Government's commitment to proceeding with renewing and expanding its nuclear deterrent by purchasing the Trident submarine ballistic missile system from the United States at a cost of 5 billion pounds.

The White Paper, submitted to Parliament for debate today, said that "the last year has brought no easing of tension between East and West." It pointed out, "the Soviet Union has again displayed its readiness to make use of military power both directly and indirectly in pursuit of political objectives. Soviet forces in Afghanistan are brutally suppressing popular resistance with complete disregard for international opinion and law...above all, the rapid build-up of Soviet nuclear and conventional forces has continued unabated."

"In the face of all this," it said, "Western governments have had no choice but to take further steps to strengthen their collective defences." Britain's response to this main threat "remains the overriding priority," it added.

#### Thatcher Speaks at UN

OW240144 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 23 (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said here today that the future of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands would be determined by the inhabitants of the islands through consultation with the government of the United Kingdom in the light of the principle of "self-determination."

Speaking at a press conference at the U.N. headquarters this afternoon, the prime minister completely excluded Argentina in any talks on the sovereignty of these islands. That is a matter only between her government and the people on the islands, she said.

Asked about the possibility of positioning a U.N. peace-keeping force on the islands, she said a U.N. peace-keeping force is not "appropriate" to be put on the islands. In the short term, she added, the armed forces of the United Kingdom would defend the islands and help bring normalcy back to the islands, and in the long term, her government would like to consider a multinational force to keep peace there.

On the situation in Lebanon, she criticized Israel for its invasion of Lebanon. She said the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon should be respected, and Israel should withdraw its forces from Lebanon.

#### NATO Holds Naval Exercise

OW240744 Beijing XINHUA in English 0732 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, June 23 (XINHUA)--NATO began a week-long naval exercise yesterday in the southern region of Belgium to test its ability to reinforce carrier battle groups in the Mediterranean and to project power ashore in support of land battles.

The exercise, code-named "Daily Double 1-82," is conducted by Vice Admiral William H. Rowden, commander of NATO's naval striking and support forces in southern Europe, an announcement from NATO's supreme allied powers headquarters said.

The exercise involves naval units and land-based air forces from Greece, Italy, Turkey, Britain and the United States.

Greece's participation has attracted attention here because it withdrew its destroyer from the recent "Deterrent Force 1/82" exercise in protest of violation of Greek air space by Turkish air force.

#### UK Claims Falklands

OW240820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0805 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, June 23 (XINHUA)--British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher reaffirmed today that Britain would not discuss the issue of sovereignty of the Falklands (Malvinas) Islands with Argentina. "Falklands are British," she claimed.

After addressing the United Nations special session on disarmament in New York this morning, Mrs Thatcher was invited to hold talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in the White House amidst reports that the U.S., anxious to begin healing its relations with Latin America, urged reconciliation between Britain and Argentina.

But, the British prime minister showed no mood of compromise when she repeated the claim at a press conference later that "there is no sovereignty issue to discuss" with Argentina.

On the issue of the U.S. participation in a multi-national force to keep peace in the islands, Mrs Thatcher merely said "it is premature" to discuss this question.

At a press briefing later this evening, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig evaded the issue of peace-keeping force at all.

A "WASHINGTON POST" report said "American relations and interests in this hemisphere have already been sufficiently damaged by the Falklands affair. The damage can only be compounded and the American conflict of interest prolonged by even the appearance of U.S. support for a stand-pat British position on the sovereignty."

Haig told the press that Reagan and Thatcher also discussed the situation in the Middle East and the East-West relations, including Poland and Afghanistan. But he did not elaborate.

#### Thatcher Speaks on Disarmament

OW241242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] United Nations, June 23 (XINHUA)--"The fundamental risk to peace is not the existence of weapons of particular types. It is the disposition on the part of some states to impose changes on others by resorting to force," announced British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at the second special session of the U.N. General Assembly this morning.

"Our key need is not for promises against first use of this or that kind of military weapon--such promises can never be dependable amid the stresses of war. We need a credible assurance," she added.

The British prime minister said, the U.S. and the Soviet Union "have by far the largest arsenals. These could be greatly reduced in a way which would not endanger security. Decisive action is needed, not just declarations or freezes."

"I welcome," she went on, "the radical proposals made by the United States for substantially cutting strategic weapons, and for eliminating a whole class of intermediate-range systems (the zero option)."

On the question of conventional forces, she said: "The biggest concentration and confrontation of such forces anywhere in the world lies in Europe. But it is heavily weighted on the side of the Warsaw Pact. This situation is in itself a cause for concern. But there is the more fundamental question whether the Warsaw Pact can or wishes to sustain a stable relationship with the rest of the world."

She said: "Mere words, speeches and resolutions will not prevent them. The security of our country and its friends can be ensured only by deterrence and by adequate strength--adequate when compared with that of a potential aggressor."

"The need to secure a better balance in conventional arms becomes even more imperative," she stressed.

#### NATO Commander Visits Turkey

OW241252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1237 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Ankara, June 23, (XINHUA)--Bernard Rogers, supreme commander of the allied powers in Europe of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) paid an official visit to Turkey from June 21 to 23.

Kenan Evren, Turkish head of state, held talks with Rogers on the modernization of the Turkish armed forces' equipment and the implementation of the "Rogers Plan."

In 1980, Rogers shuttled between Turkey and Greece. As a result the two countries accepted the "Rogers Plan" which led to Greece's return to NATO. This has strengthened the unity of NATO member countries and is of importance in beefing up the defences of NATO's southeast flank and the Mediterranean.

It was reported that during the visit Rogers mainly studied the defence of Turkey's eastern border areas adjoining the Soviet Union and the newly emerged issues on the country's eastern defence front arising from the Iran-Iraq war and Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

Rogers will leave Turkey tomorrow for Brussels.

#### France's Mauroy on Nuclear Force

OW241842 Beijing XINHUA in English 1820 GMT 24 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, June 23 (XINHUA)--France's strategic nuclear force should be independent and "true disarmament negotiations" should be conducted, French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said today in Cherbourg at the launching of France's sixth nuclear submarine, the "Inflexible."

He said that the two superpowers possessed more than 2,000 multi-warhead missiles and at least 300 Soviet-deployed SS-20 missiles were threatening the security of Europe and China. "This situation, especially the growing imbalance in conventional and nuclear weapons in Europe in favor of one of the superpowers are making people more anxious," he said.

Mauroy stressed that the French nuclear strategic force "aims only at guarding France and its interests against any aggression," and therefore, "as long as the superpowers do not change the nature of their atomic armament, as long as there is a conventional imbalance in Europe, our force can not be negotiated nor counted with the megatons of one or the other power."

"France's strategic force is and will remain independent," he said.

"Inflexible" is reportedly a second-generation nuclear missile submarine. It is equipped with six 150,000-ton M-4 multi-warhead missiles. Its nuclear combat capability equals one-third of the total of the other five nuclear submarines built by France earlier. The submarine will be commissioned in 1985.

#### EEC Commission President to Austria

OW260750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0737 GMT 26 Jun 82

[Text] Vienna, June 25 (XINHUA)--EEC Commission President Gaston Thorn told a press conference here today that the forthcoming EEC summit conference in Brussels would discuss possible economic sanctions against Israel, if Israel refused to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

Thorn, now on an official visit here, yesterday attended a banquet held in his honor by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. His host also called on EEC, together with the United States and the Soviet Union, to take measures to bring about Israel's immediate withdrawal. Sanctions against Israel were necessary as stipulated in the charter of the United Nations, the Austrian chancellor said. He also called for efforts to end the fighting in Lebanon and safeguard the rights of the Palestinians.

At his press conference today, Gaston Thorn expressed dissatisfaction with the recent U.S. decision to levy taxes on EEC steel products and to lay more embargoes on the Soviet Union.

#### EEC Summit Discussions Open

OW290716 Beijing XINHUA in English 0701 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Text] Brussels, June 28 (XINHUA)--Leaders of the ten European Economic Community (EEC) countries opened their summit here today with the Middle-East crisis resulting from Israel's invasion of Lebanon and European-U.S. relations dominating their discussions.

Presiding over today's discussion, Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens demanded "most vigorously" an immediate and complete cease-fire in Lebanon in order to seek a solution to the tragic situation.

He said, "Without an equitable settlement of the Palestinian problem through the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, no profound and lasting solution is possible."

The summit participants heard a message from Egyptian President Mubarak which requested the European countries to play an important part to ensure that Israeli's aggression would not be rewarded.

President Mubarak urged the European leaders to "do their utmost in the political, diplomatic as well as humanitarian fields to help contain the crisis and ease the untold sufferings of the Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population."

On the European-U.S. relations, the European leaders were preoccupied by the U.S. decision of preventing the supply of U.S. licensed parts needed for the Soviet-Western Europe gas pipeline project. They accused the U.S. of breaching the principles of international law and described the U.S. position as unacceptable.

U.S.-European relationship has been in deep trouble for some years and has never been so strained in the postwar years at least. But the European leaders emphasized the importance of the partnership and called for global dialogue with the U.S.

There is growing concern in the EEC that its future economic recovery will be damaged by Washington's economic and monetary policies which involve trade disputes on steel, agricultural products, textiles and credit problems.

CSO: 4000/158

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

LIAONING DELEGATION TO DPRK--At the invitation of the People's Committee of the DPRK's North Pyongan Province, a 19-member Liaoning provincial study-visit delegation led by (Wen Naiwu), deputy director of the general office of the provincial government, left Dandong for the DPRK 17 June. [SK181006 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jun 82]

JAPANESE DELEGATION IN LIAONING--A seven-member goodwill delegation from Iki City, Japan, arrived at Anshan Municipality, Liaoning Province, on 9 June to attend the inaugural ceremony establishing sistership between the two cities. On the morning of 10 June the ceremony was held in Anshan Municipality, at which mayors of the two cities delivered speeches highly praising successful development of friendship between the two countries' people and pledging to make further efforts to display harmonious cooperation. On the same day the delegation made a sight-seeing tour of the city and then left for Shenyang. [SK121208 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jun 82]

INTERNATIONAL HEALTH FORUM--Fifteen developing countries, including Barbados, Yemen, Jamaica, Gambia Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Sudan, Thailand, Tanzania, Vanuatu, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe and China, will meet in Ye County, Shandong Province, 13-26 June to attend a forum on health care. The forum is to promote health care for all by 2000. This forum is sponsored by the World Health Organization, the International Development Organization, the UN Children's Fund Assembly and the World Bank with the support of China's Ministry of Public Health. Attending the forum will be public health ministers and officials of these countries and representatives of international organizations concerned. Participants, through inspections, will study China's grassroots health care work and probe into the possibility of whether a developing country can develop health care through self-reliance. [SK112215 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 8 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/972

PARTY AND STATE

TAIPING HEAVENLY KINGDOM SEMINAR HELD IN BEIJING

HK150253 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Report by Li Gengqi [2621 1649 0366] and Xiao Wu [5135 0702]: "Beijing Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Historical Research Society Holds Seminar"]

[Text] The Beijing Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Historical Research Society has held a seminar. About 50 research personnel and comrades concerned attended the seminar. The contents of the theses received included the fields of politics, economics, military affairs, religion and the change in social structure in the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Among all the theses, Wang Qingcheng's "the large family and small family of the god of the Taiping heavenly kingdom" made a textual research on the theory and facts of the two "god families" of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, analyzed the relations between the large family, which considers everyone as god's son or daughter and the universe as an entity, and the little family centered on the heavenly father, heavenly brother, heavenly king and junior heavenly king. It also analyzed the positive and negative effects of such a religious and ideological system, and conducted comprehensive research into the politics, ideology, religion and ethics of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Zhen Rucheng's "gain and loss in financial revenue work in the Taiping heavenly kingdom," starting with the economic income of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the evolution process of its relevant policies, testified to the corresponding changes of the class nature in the political power of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. He contends that after 1860, the Taiping heavenly kingdom tilted to gradually depending on the feudal exploiting class instead of dealing powerful blows at them. Meanwhile, the Taiping heavenly kingdom went against the interests of the broad masses, thus isolating itself from the basic masses and losing their support. Mistakes in fiscal and revenue policy constituted an important internal reason for the failure of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Guo Yisheng's "comment on the system of enforcing tenants to deliver tax grain," on the basis of textual research and investigation, pointed out two situations existed at the same time in the policy of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, that is, "enforcing the tenants to deliver tax grain," and "landlords" and analyzed three reasons for the emergence of the former situation, thus proving the subject of "there would be no system of enforcing the tenants to deliver tax grain without the political power of the Taiping heavenly kingdom." By quoting material on Wujiang and Changshu, the author explained that after the soldiers of the Taiping heavenly kingdom assigned deeds of land to the tenants, a partial qualitative change

appeared in landlord ownership which was objectively conducive to the development of capitalism. Jia Shucun's "Feudal Clans During the Period of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom" and Yin Futing's "Tentative Discussion on the Disappearance and Influence of Central and Local Power of the Qing Government during the period of the Taiping heavenly kingdom." The analysis on the reason for the failure of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the historical influence of the Taiping heavenly kingdom revolution were made much deeper than previous ones.

During the seminar, discussions were held on the existing problems in the research work of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the future direction. All the participants agreed that great achievements have been made in the depth and breadth of research in the Taiping heavenly kingdom history since liberation. Nevertheless, it is far from perfect. There is still great room for development. For instance, there are links between the research of history of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the history of certain areas, history of religion, history of the world and history of nationalities. Plenty of material has to be discovered and arranged in this field. New fields have to be opened. There is a need to strengthen research on the social, political and economic background to the period of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. Many subjects have to be dealt with, such as the Taiping heavenly kingdom's influence on the Westernization movement, the pioneers of reformism, the reform movement of 1898 and the revolution of 1911, the inevitability and fortuity and the internal and external reasons for the failure of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, the relations between the Taiping heavenly kingdom and national struggle, the national policy of the Qing Government during that period, the evaluation of figures of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, Hong Xiuchuan's role in the internal contradictions within the Taiping heavenly kingdom and his outlook on the universe, and the status and position of "Zi Zheng Xin Pian" in ideological history and the history of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. All this research has to be carried out deeply and widely. The participating comrades also held that the Taiping heavenly kingdom was the last and greatest peasant revolution of our country. There were indeed many creative achievements in it. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect its dual nature, especially the influence of the feudal system and ideological tradition on it.

As far as the economic problems of the Taiping heavenly kingdom are concerned, some comrades have, during the course of discussion, contended that the open policy of the Taiping heavenly kingdom on foreign trade was useful to the development of the economy. The leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom had a great passion for the science and technology of the West. They adopted a positive attitude towards it. The development of commerce in the area of the Taiping heavenly kingdom stimulated Chinese capitalism; it did not cause it to retrogress.

The seminar did not last long. However, there were enthusiastic and vivid speeches, and a harmonious atmosphere prevailed during the whole course of the seminar. This not only reflected the situation of academic contention of a hundred schools, but also stimulated unity. All the participants felt that such an academic mood should be initiated.

CSO: 4005/971

## PARTY AND STATE

### FIRST TALK ON RULING PARTY'S WORK STYLE

OW300112 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Liu Binghai): "New Problems Faced by the Party After it Assumed the Leading Position in the Country"--first in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] After 28 years of revolutionary struggles and war, the Communist Party of China led the people of all nationalities in China in overthrowing reactionary rule by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and established the people's republic of China. Beginning from that time, the party assumed the leading position in all activities throughout the country. Under the leadership of the party since the founding of the nation, the people of all nationalities throughout the country have, step by step, realized the transition from new democracy to socialism, promptly revitalized the national economy and developed economic construction in a planned manner. In most areas of the country, the socialist transformation in the ownership system of the means of production has been basically completed. Particularly since the convocation of the Eighth National CCP Congress in 1956, China has carried out socialist construction on a large scale, and won tremendous achievements in this respect. Due to its lack of experience in leading the socialist cause, the party has made subjective mistakes in analyzing the situation and understanding the state of our country. Even prior to the "great cultural revolution," it had committed mistakes of rashness and impatience in developing economic constitution and intensifying the class struggle. Later, the "great cultural revolution" took place. During that period, overall and serious errors were committed over a long period. All this has prevented us from scoring the kind of achievements which we should have attained.

After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, the party reaffirmed the major strategic policy of decision at the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee on shifting the emphasis of work in the whole party. From that time, China entered a new period of historical development. The party's general task for this new period is to unite with the people of all nationalities, display the work style of self-reliance and arduous struggle, gradually realize the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology and build China into a highly civilized and democratic socialist nation.

Our party is the pioneer of the working class and the leader in developing the people's liberation cause. This statement is true either for the period of revolutionary wars, in which we had to wage struggles to seize political power, or in the period of socialist construction. However, due to the differences in time and conditions, as well as the social environment under which the party carries out its activities, the task and work methods of the party's will also differ. At the same time, following the consolidation and continuous improvement of the socialist system, the demands which the party imposes on each party member will also differ from those in the past. The third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee called for efforts to study the new situation and tackle new problems. This pointed out a correct path for the work of the whole party and party building and helped all party members incessantly raise the level of their awareness and improve their capabilities.

After the party assumed the leading position in the whole country, particularly after the vigorous development of the socialist modernization program, with what kind of problems would the party be faced in party building?

1. The problem of strengthening and improving party leadership. The "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the people's Republic of China," adopted by the sixth plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, pointed out: "Without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China. Likewise, without the Chinese Communist Party, there would be no modern socialist China." To develop the socialist cause is an arduous and complex task calling for struggle over a protracted period. This task requires leadership, particularly the strong leadership of the party. Whether the party's leadership is strong or weak can be determined by checking whether this leadership follows the socialist path. After the party assumed the leading positions in all fields, to strengthen and improve party leadership has become an extremely important issue to which we must pay full attention.

Since the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have already scored tremendous achievements under the strong leadership of the party. These achievements have attracted worldwide attention. The party's leadership has been incessantly strengthened in the course of improving itself. However, the party leadership in some departments, units and localities remains weak and lax. For example, some people dare not enforce measures which are conducive to the socialist cause. Those responsible for action dare not shoulder their responsibilities, and those who should be commended are not commended. Some people dare not criticize those measures which are harmful to the socialist cause. Also, some people dare not implement, in close connection with their own departments, area or unit, those guidelines and policies laid down by the central authorities and carry them through to the end.

The people have pinned great hope on our party and entrusted it with the historical mission of developing socialist modernization. But some of our comrades are always timid and worried. In this way, how can they possibly win the full confidence of the people?

In strengthening and improving the party's leadership, the CCP Central Committee has already adopted many effective measures. For example, it has worked out the "guiding principles for inner-party political life," abolished the

system of maintaining life-long tenure for cadres, practiced division of work between the party and the government, and promoted to leading posts those outstanding middle-aged and young cadres who are younger, more educated and professionally more competent, through the restructuring of government organs. It has also done away with some bureaucratic practices, one after another, and steadily raised work efficiency. The key to strengthening and improving the party's leadership lies in the firm implementation of democratic centralism within the party in order to turn it into an organization in which there is perfect democratic life and strict discipline. After the convocation of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central committee, the party has done a great deal of work in practicing the principle of democratic centralism. Naturally, this principle of democratic centralism will have to be further improved and developed in the course of promoting the modernization program.

2. The problem of preventing and overcoming bureaucracy and guarding against the trend of divorcing ourselves from the masses.

In summing up the experience of the Paris commune, Engles pointed out: After having a good grasp of policy, the working class must guard against any trend to turn their status as servants of the people into that of masters of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong's views regarding this were even more specific in conforming with the actual situation in China. At the second plenary session of the Seventh National CCP Congress, he said: When the center of gravity of the party's work has shifted from the village to the city, we must guard against certain moods which may grow within the party--arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. He also called for efforts to guard against attacks from "sugar-coated bullets."

The Eighth National CCP Congress also pointed out: The party's assumption of the leading position in various activities throughout the country has made our comrades tainted with bureaucratic habits. Compared with the past, the party organizations and party members have shown even greater tendencies to divorce from reality and from the masses. Later, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong once again pointed out that it is necessary to guard against, and continuously overcome, the bureaucratic tendencies of divorcing from the broad masses and remaining aloof from all the people. We had committed the error of overestimating the seriousness of the situation and adopting the "leftist" policy of waging class struggle. We must not commit the same error again.

As far as the party of the working class is concerned, it is always important to pay full attention and effectively solve the problem of divorcing ourselves from the masses and the issue of bureaucracy. The party's line, guidelines and policies must proceed from the interests of the people and they must be worked out on the basis of such interests. The party always represents the common desire of the people. At the same time, the party has also educated all its members to work diligently, carefully and loyally to serve the people and learn from them, placing the people's interests above all. This is a necessary requirement for our party of the working class. This also constitutes the basic reason why our party is able to lead the Chinese people in winning continual victories and enjoying a high prestige among the people.

When the party is in a position to lead the country, party organizations at all levels and all its members are particularly required to keep firmly in mind the purpose of serving the people and to pay great attention to maintaining the closest ties with the masses of people. Under no circumstances is anyone allowed to take advantage of the power entrusted him by the people to satisfy his selfish desires or to seek to achieve his personal ends.

3. It is necessary to regularly educate party members in communist ideology and to consolidate the ranks of party members in a guided and systematic way. To successfully lead the cause of socialist modernization and increase its fighting capability, the party in a position to lead the country should also correctly use the method of making criticism and self-criticism to continually overcome and correct various shortcomings, mistakes and undesirable practices among the ranks of its members and, when necessary, to consolidate its members ideologically and organizationally. This is what is usually called party consolidation.

After the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques were smashed, the ferreting out of their factionalist followers fell under the category of party consolidation. The current struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic field involves party members and party member-cadres. Thus, some aspects of the struggle also fall under the category of party consolidation. Drawing a lesson from past experience, we no longer launch any tempestuous political movements but stress ideological education, practice criticism and self-criticism among comrades, have great respect for facts and solve problems in accordance with party rules and regulations as well as state laws and decrees. Since the party is now engaged in the communist movement in the initial stage of communism, that is, the stage of socialism, it is therefore urgently necessary to further step up communist education throughout the party, an education in communist ideology, communist ideals and conviction, the basic principles of Marxism and the party's principles and policies.

Our party has always attached great importance to communist education. However, anarchism and ultra-individualism, which were mainly whipped up by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, still have a market among some people and are continuing to pollute the general mood of our society. In the course of implementing the policies of opening to the world and revitalizing the domestic economy, some Communist Party members, party member-cadres and even a very small number of cadres in leading positions have been corrosively influenced in varying degrees by the ideologies of exploiting classes and have thus engaged in criminal activities in the economic field. Some young party members of a few years' standing lack a systematic knowledge of communism, and the communist spirit of some individual party members, who withstood tests for a long time, has more or less flagged. This is why it is urgent to persistently conduct extensive communist education throughout the party.

Communist education is the most fundamental and important aspect of ideological and political work as well as of ideological consolidation. The principle of effecting a division of work between the party and the government calls for party organizations at all levels, especially the primary party organizations, to free themselves from day-to-day administrative and vocational work and, in-

stead of running things all by themselves without consulting others, concentrate their energies on performing ideological and political work well and doing a good job in the supervision of party members, mainly in communism.

As far as the party organization is concerned, the ranks of party members are increasing with each passing day, because of the party's position of leading the country and its high prestige. With the admission to the party of thousands upon thousands of new members, the party has become ever more vigorous. Our party members, who can be found all over the motherland, are playing a tremendous role at various posts on the various fronts of socialist modernization.

At the same time, we should note that when people joined the party in the war years, they were ready at all times to sacrifice themselves. At that time, even though individual undesirable elements sneaked into the party, it was fairly easy to see through and expose them. Generally speaking, however, when one joins the party now, one does not have to take any risks like those of the war years. Thus, a situation is now apt to occur in which people join the party to seek an official position, fame and gain. In the course of conducting extensive ideological education, it is necessary to take necessary organizational measures against unqualified party members. Progress can hardly be made in the party's cause without serious organizational consolidation and without solving the problem of organizational impurity.

As to what problems party organizations at various levels and every party member are confronted with in party building when the party is in a position to lead the country, we can only outline the main ones. Fundamentally speaking, in the course of historic socialist modernization, the party must always pay close attention to practical experience, draw strength from the broad masses of people, uphold the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and, at the same time, continue to enrich them so that they will develop in practice. Only thus will the party be able to correctly identify new problems and properly solve them one by one. Only thus will the party be able to effectively lead the cause of socialist modernization to success.

CSO: 4005/971

## PARTY AND STATE

### SECOND TALK ON RULING PARTY'S WORK STYLE

OW010600 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Wei Jianmin): "An Important Task of Party Leadership is to Organize and Support the People's Role as Masters of Their Own Affairs"—second in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] Since its founding the Chinese Communist Party has regarded as its objective to strive to support the complete liberation of the Proletariat and the working people and to defend and develop the people's interests. As the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" has pointed out: "The Proletarian movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority." The Chinese Communist Party opposes all deeds that infringe on the people's interests. It did so in the past, it is still doing so now and it will continue to do so in the future. The 28-year revolutionary war led by the party was waged precisely to overthrow the reactionary ruling class of old China and make the people of various nationalities the masters of the country. With the socialist system firmly established and socialist modernization in full swing, the people's role as masters of the country's affairs has been more and more consolidated and enhanced.

The people's role as masters is a basic characteristic of the socialist system, but this does not mean that the question concerning the people's role as masters can be solved once for all merely by overthrowing the old ruling class, establishing socialist public ownership of the means of production and practicing the system of to each according to his work. It was 17 years after the founding of the people's Republic of China and 10 years after completing in the main the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production that a 10-year civil strife took place in our country. The Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique seized some party and state power, cruelly attacked and persecuted the broad masses of people, including revolutionaries of the older generation, cadres, intellectuals, workers and peasants, and trampled under foot the people's democratic rights. This shows that the people will lose their democratic rights if the political power of the party and the state is usurped by careerists and conspirators.

The establishment of the socialist system put an end to the period of rule by the exploiting classes and proclaimed the beginning of an era when the people had become the masters. However, we must constantly develop and perfect the socialist system in order to safeguard and enhance the people's role as masters. This question has been explicitly expounded in the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the people's Republic of China" adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central

Committee. It pointed out: "A fundamental task of the socialist revolution is gradually to establish a highly democratic socialist political system." It also pointed out: "It is necessary to strengthen the building of state organs at all levels in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, make the people's congresses at all levels and their permanent organs authoritative organs of the people's political power, gradually realize direct popular participation in the democratic process at the grassroots level of political power and community life and, in particular, stress democratic management by the working masses in urban and rural enterprises over the affairs of their establishments."

The people's role in dealing with the country's affairs is a question closely related to the state system. Our state system is a system of people's democratic dictatorship. Recently the standing committee of the national people's congress promulgated the draft of the revised constitution of the people's Republic of China for the people of all nationalities in China to discuss. In Article 2, it specifically stipulates: "All power in the people's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise state power are the national people's congress and the local people's congresses at various levels. The people have the right to administer the affairs of the country and its economic, cultural and social affairs, according to provisions of the law through various channels and in various forms." Article 3 stipulates: "The national people's congress and the local people's congresses at various levels are elected democratically, are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision. All organs of state administration and all judicial and procuratorial organs are originated by the organs of state power to which they are responsible and to the supervision of which they are subject."

One of the remarkable features of the draft revised constitution is the enlargement of the functions and powers of the standing committee of the national people's congress and the standing committees of provincial and county people's congresses. The draft revised constitution has also contained specific stipulations regarding such questions as the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, the direct exercise of democratic rights by citizens at various enterprises, institutions and grassroots organizations and units, and the prohibition of any infringement upon these democratic rights. We have already held direct elections below the county level and prepared provisional regulations concerning the workers' congresses at state industrial enterprises. All these are focused at one objective--to insure that the people can directly exercise their democratic rights and truly play the role of the masters in state affairs.

We all know that the socialist cause is the people's own cause. Soon after the victory of the October revolution in Russia, Lenin pointed out: "Socialism is not created according to higher authorities' orders. It is absolutely incompatible with bureaucratic (opportunism) in the official circles. The vigorous and creative socialism is created by the people. Only by having the tens of millions of people participate in socialist practice, can we guarantee the victory of the socialist cause." Only if the people take direct part in managing state affairs, can they know their own strength, widen their field of vision and enhance their own ability, all of which they should do in order to be the masters of the country.

The party is the force at the core leading all our causes and the people are the masters of the country. Then, what is the relationship between the party leadership and the people's status as the masters? Comrade Hu Yaobang made a brilliant exposition on this question in his report at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. He said: "To organize and support the people as the masters of the country is the very essence of the party's leadership over affairs of state." In order to organize and support the people as the masters of the country, we should first know that our party members and cadres, particularly those who hold certain leading positions, are the backbone force in socialist construction as well as the people's public servants. All their work should be designed to wholeheartedly serve the people and help the people organize themselves to struggle for their own interest and will.

In order to organize and support the people as the masters of the country, we should publicize the viewpoint of historical materialism among the people and make the people know the orientation of historical development, their own historical mission and their own fundamental interests. We should make the people know the relationship between long-term interests and immediate interests, the principle for correctly handling the relationship and where their strength lies. When the people know the truth and have a common objective, they will enhance their own sense of responsibility as the masters of the country and work with one heart and one mind.

To organize and support the people in being the masters of the country, it is necessary to organize and urge them to study so that in the course of practice they will gradually know how to correctly use their power in managing their own affairs. This requires us to constantly and tirelessly publicize socialist democracy and socialist legality among the people in an effort to enable them to correctly and effectively use their democratic rights and use the law as a weapon to safeguard their legitimate interests and the socialist system. It is also necessary to insure that they are good at wielding socialist democracy and legality to run the country and promote material and spiritual civilization and that they are good at being the masters of the country.

Our systems should guarantee that the people can act as the masters of the country. To guarantee the people's rights to manage their own affairs, our party has led them to constantly sum up experiences in the course of practice since the founding of the country. Attempts have been carried out to institute reform of the management system. In order to insure the development of socialist democracy in our political system, an experiment has been conducted in recent years in establishing commune members' congresses in some collective economic units. Moreover, the electoral law stipulates that deputies to the people's congress of a municipality not divided into districts, districts under the jurisdiction of a municipality, country, autonomous county, people's commune and town shall be elected directly by the voters.

The draft of the revised constitution of the country recently published for discussion by the people throughout the nation further sums up the creative achievements of the people over the past more than 30 years and the fresh experiences they gained in the course of practice. New stipulations are contained

in the draft of the revised constitution with regard to improving the country's socialist democratic systems, especially to perfecting the people's congresses at all levels. With the perfection of the political, economic, cultural and social systems, the people's rights to manage their own affairs will be increasingly and effectively enhanced.

Basically speaking, the fact that the people become the masters of their own affairs means they take the destiny of the entire country and the whole nation directly into their hands. It calls for the full development of the national economy and a great furtherance of our cultural, scientific, technological and managerial levels as well as of our ideological and moral levels. It requires that our country have perfect legal and political systems. To attain these goals, it is imperative to uphold and strengthen the party leadership.

It is not possible for the people to spontaneously know what their fundamental interests are. To enable the working class and other laboring people to understand where their fundamental interests lie and to struggle for their interests and to attain the goal of liberating themselves, it is imperative to give them leadership of their vanguard which is the Communist Party. The party cannot leave the people for a single moment. To safeguard their own interests, the people cannot divorce themselves from party leadership. Any attempt to split the party from the people is completely wrong. Our party is powerful, correct and invincible because it always stands together with the people, concentratedly represents their interests and is the force among the working class that is farsighted and open-minded and most powerful in fighting.

Under the socialist system, any attempt to split the party from the people is not only wrong but harmful. Without the leadership of our party, there would be no socialist system. During the 10 years of domestic chaos, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique trumpeted the slogan of "make revolution by kicking out the party committee." The results were just like what the resolution of the sixth plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee says: "It decidedly could not come up with any constructive program, but could only bring grave disorder, damage and retrogression in its train." In any sense, it does not mean progress or revolution but a great damage done to the people's rights.

With the development of socialist modernization and the perfection on socialist democracy and socialist legality. One of our party's long-term and important tasks is to organize and support the people to use their power of being the masters of the country in an expanding scope and in an increasingly effective manner.

CSO: 4005/971

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON KANG YOUWEI'S MEMORIALS

HK250402 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by Kong Xiangji [1313 4382 0679]: "Kang Youwei's Distortion of the Wuxu Memorials to the Throne and the reasons for It"]

[Text] Kang Youwei's Wuxu memorials to the throne represent firsthand data for the study of the 100-day history of the constitutional reform and modernization of 1898. In May in the Xinhai year of Emperor Xuantong (1911), Kang's follower Mai Zhonghua who "spent years collecting data," edited and published the "Wuxu Memorials to the Throne" (hereinafter briefly called the "memorials"). For many years, students of history have taken this work as a basis for the study of the reform movement of 1898 and Kang Youwei's thinking. In the early 1970's, based on the "historical data on the reform movement of 1898" edited by the office of archives on the Ming and Qing dynasties of the state archives bureau (published by the Zhonghua Book Company in 1958), and other data, Taiwan scholar Huang Zhangjian took issue with "memorials" by pointing out its distortions. The "bona fide versions of Kang Youwei's Wuxu memorials to the throne" written by him is of great value. Later, the "contents of the Wuxu memorials to the throne" prepared by Comrade Tang Zhijun correctly pointed out that "the work by Mr Mai not only made distortions but was also incomplete in its table of contents." But due to his limited exposure to relevant archives, Tang was inevitably wrong in some of his conclusions.

In recent years, with the increasingly penetrating study of the Qing palace document archives, we have discovered the original works hand written by Kang Youwei, such as "a collection of petitions by heroes," "a study of the reform of Japan," "the fall of Poland," "a comparative list of important personages of various countries," and so forth, and many memorials to the throne drafted by him for others. The work "a collection of petitions by heroes" in particular included every word of the 18 memorials sent by Kang Youwei to Emperor Guang Xu from the first month of the year of Wuxu to 13 July. This has not only provided highly cherished fresh historical data for our study of the history of the reform movement of 1898 but also enabled us to clarify many questions.

In the "guide" to the use of the book "Memorials," Mai Zhonghua pointed out: "Over several months in the year of Wuxu, Mr Kang Youwei wrote 63 memorials. They represent the general program for the reform movement of 1898. They are

also typical of the writer." On the basis of the records of the military secrets department in the first historical records office of China for the 24th of Guangxu and on the basis of "a collection of petitions by heroes" and other data, the figure mentioned by Mai Zhonghua is on the whole credible. In the "Memorials," there are only a total of not more than 25 memorials, including 17 which were collected at one time, 5 which were prefaces to books and 3 which were collected later. These represent one-third of the memorials submitted to the throne by Kang Youwei during the period of the year of Wuxu. If we refer to records and study the discrepancies, we can easily see that in many places in the "Memorials" there are distortions in principle--which cannot reflect the political views of the advocates of reform in the period of the reform movement of 1898, these serious distortions can be chiefly found in the following three respects.

1. In the "Memorials," Kang Youwei inserted such words as "formulating a constitution and immediately setting up a constitutional government."

The promulgation of a constitution and the establishment of constitutional monarchy--this was not Kang Youwei's political viewpoint in the period of the 100-day reformation movement. Instead, this was the political slogan raised by them in the several years they sought refuge in Japan after the failure of the reform movement. Such lines in "Memorials" as "discussing a new government and formulating a constitution," "following the good practices of foreign countries and seeking a mass discussion of the constitution," and so forth were not mentioned at all in the original memorials to the throne. Obviously, they were inserted later.

2. In "Memorials," Kang Youwei changed the political program of the advocates of reform from the establishment of required systems bureau to the establishment of a parliament.

Large amounts of data from the Qing document archives show that the political program of Kang Youwei and others during the reform movement of 1898 called for exerting every effort to establish a required systems bureau in the palace and for "selecting versatile persons to meet the needs of the moment" ("The Fall of Poland," vol 7) in repeated petitions to the Qing Government, Kang Youwei urged Guang Xu to "set up such a bureau as soon as possible," he said, "if the bureau for required systems is not set up, everything will be left in a topsy-turvy state." ("Autobiography by Kang Nanhai") as early as on the eighth day of the second month of the year of Wuxu, Kang, on behalf of Song Bailu, drafted a petition for the establishment of an office for the discussion of policies. Later, he again drafted for others petitions for the establishment of a maoqin [diligence] royal office. Though the name of the organ to be set up had been repeatedly changed, the main goal had never changed. The goal was to let so-called "versatile persons" like Kang and Liang take charge of the new government. In all the records of the year of Wuxu, Kang Youwei did not say anything about the establishment of a parliament. On the contrary, he said: "As China has not caught up with the outside world, decisive and dogmatic measures must be taken and monarchical power must be exercised in their enforcement. But versatile persons must be recruited, so that they can play the role of advisers" ("A Study of the Reformation of Japan," vol 1) this was the real idea advocated by Kang.

3. In "Memorials," Kang Youwei tried hard to cover up his idea of respecting monarchical power. The reform movement of 1898 proceeded under circumstances where all kinds of obstacles were encountered from diehards. In the second public appeal initiated in the leap third month of the year of Wuxu, Kang, Liang and others clearly expressed their support for monarchical power. They stressed "making the people in the world understand the rules requiring a subject to obey the ruler and a son to obey his father and making every household know the virtue of being respectful to parents and to elder brothers." In "a 'public appeal' by over 800 successful provincial examination candidates, including Liang Qichao, and so forth" in the "A Collection of Petitions by Heroes," Kang Youwei said many times that monarchical power "packs the force of a thunderbolt. There is nothing to resist it and nothing can stand in its way. It is like a shepherd driving a herd of sheep and directing them to go in whichever direction he chooses, with a whip in hand. The emperor judges things by himself." These naked words of praise for monarchical power were entirely deleted in "Memorials." In their place were inserted such words as "though the people are humble, they are the sons of the ruler," "freedom of religious belief is an essential part of the constitution," and so forth. The changes made are obvious.

Why should Kang Youwei have wanted to make major changes in the memorials to the throne in the period of the reform movement of 1898? This was closely related to the then prevailing situation of domestic political struggle.

After the Sino-French war in the 1880's, given the increasing bankruptcy of the Westernization movement and the vigorous development of national capitalism, certain advanced thinkers realized that while learning from the Western capitalist economic system, we had to effect reforms in the feudalist superstructure of China. Zheng Guanying and other directly put forth the demand for the realization of constitutional monarchy. The devastating defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895 brought the national crisis to an unprecedentedly serious stage. The calls for reforming the feudal dictatorial government became increasingly strong. In the "public appeal" and the "third petition to the Qing emperor," Kang Youwei repeatedly demanded that the Qing Government "be divided into provinces and counties. A person should be elected for every 100,000 households. Any person, whether already appointed as an official or not, can stand for election. A person so elected is to be given the title of 'Yi-Lang' [6231 6745] according to the Han system." When there is an important matter, "a conference is to be called, any decision to be approved by two-thirds of the participants." The holders of the title of "Yi-Lang" can "directly send appeals to the throne and pass on the wishes of the people." ("Correspondence of Kang Nanhai," vol 1). The kind of organ similar to a parliament that Kang wanted to set up had the power of a legislative organ. Of course, such a political view was put forth on the basis of the thinking of Zhang Guanying and others and was carried a step further.

But when the 100-day reform movement reached an upsurge, Kang Youwei's position drastically changed from a person of no consequence to one that counted in the new government. Guang Xu's departure from custom in granting him an interview convinced him of the emperor's determination to make a reform. Guang Xu's response to the advice of the advocates of reform especially made Kang Youwei

and others and all their hopes for political reform on the emperor. This, coupled with the existence of a large number of conservative high-ranking officials opposing a reform, forced Kang to give up his original political view. He made a switch from the original call for civil rights to a call for "resolutely practicing monarchy" and from the call for "establishing a parliament to reflect the views from the lower levels" ("the fifth petition to the Qing emperor") to a call for establishing a systems bureau in the palace to "participate in discussing new policies." (A Collection of Petitions from Heroes")

This switchover on the part of Kang Youwei, objectively speaking, was also dictated by the fact that the diehards enjoyed overwhelming superiority politically. To reduce obstacles that stood in the way of reform, Kang Youwei was compelled to act in the way he did, as far as the strategy of struggle was concerned. For example, Liang Qichao said: "By calling for the implementation of policies, he meant paying attention to monarchical power. Given the customs of China of several thousand years.... We may happen to have a good ruler. His power should therefore be upheld resolutely," (Liang Qichao: "Biography of Kang Youwei") which could mean winning half the battle. Liang believed that Kang wanted "to use the laws of the ruler to carry out the wishes of a people who enjoy civil rights." This, in Liang's opinion, was justifiable in a way. Subjectively speaking, Kang, Liang and others at that time still could not rid themselves completely of the shackles of traditional ideas. They lacked the courage to "act contrary to the wishes of the majority, thus inviting trouble." Therefore, they gave up their original political views.

After the reform movement of 1898, Kang and Liang escaped abroad. At that time, there was an unusually strong agitation for reform. Kang Youwei and others stubbornly maintained the stand of the emperor and were put in an increasingly difficult plight. On the one hand, they had to fight with the muddleheaded and decadent diehards in the Qing Government, urging the ruler to establish a constitutional government at an early date. On the other hand, they had to struggle against the revolutionary group represented by Dr Sun Yat-sen, in an attempt to replace the revolution with a constitutional government. After an upsurge in the revolution quickly appeared, the contradictions between the revolutionaries and the advocates of a constitutional government became especially more serious. The war of words became more heated. Dr Sun Yat-sen successively published such important articles as "refuting arguments for supporting the emperor," "notification to fellow countrymen," and other important articles fully exposing the true colors of Kang and Liang as supporters of the emperor and leaving them in a state of great passivity politically. The revolutionaries especially touched Kang and Liang on a weak spot when they charged that at the time of the reform movement, the latter had begun to oppose civil rights and did not favor the establishment of a parliament. Therefore, when "Memorials" was published in 1911, things like establishment of a parliament, immediate establishment of a constitutional government and restricting monarchical power were inserted. On the one hand, this could repulse the attack of the revolutionaries and lift themselves out of their political plight. On the other, this could have the effect of urging the Qing Government as soon as possible. Therefore, what many memorials in "Memorials" reflected represented mostly the political views of Kang and Liang during their exile in Japan.

## PARTY AND STATE

### NATIONAL CPPCC PANEL DISCUSSES DRAFT CONSTITUTION

OW180103 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1600 GMT 17 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 17 Jun (XINHUA)--At the second panel discussion on the draft of the revised constitution held by the National CPPCC Committee, some personages pointed out that the draft's stipulations on China's economic system and socialist modernization completely conform with China's actual situation and will certainly guide China's modernization program on to further successes.

Rong Yiren and Qian Changzhao, vice chairmen of the National CPPCC Committee, presided over the discussion meeting held at the CPPCC auditorium today. The participating members of the National CPPCC Committee concentrated their discussion on the stipulations in the draft of the revised constitution that concern China's socialist economic system and modernization.

Zhang Jingli, member of the standing committee of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the all-China federation of industry and commerce, talked about the stipulation in the draft of the revised constitution concerning the implementation of the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" in China. He said that the stipulation was correct and important. He said: Problems such as "eating from the same big pot" and "the iron rice bowl" in China's economic life are not brought about by the socialist system. There are historical factors that caused these problems, but the main reason for their emergence is the lack of experience in socialist economic construction and the unreasonable aspects of the economic system. These problems can be solved if the whole nation makes concerted efforts to promote what is beneficial and abolish what is harmful.

Huang Liangchen, member of the National CPPCC Committee and secretary general of the China Democratic National Construction Association Central Committee and adviser of the Ministry of Commerce, talked about his understanding of the stipulation in the draft of the revised constitution regarding the question of the ownership system from the commercial angle. He said: Article 7 states that the state sector of the economy is the dominant force in the national economy and that the state ensures the consolidation and development of the state sector of the economy. This is absolutely correct. Firstly, the commerce of a socialist state should have the state-run commerce as its main structure in order to guarantee that the principle of relying mainly on economic planning

with market regulation as the supplement is implemented. Secondly, the socialist market is multifactorial, but there must be a distinction between the primary and the secondary. The state-run commerce is responsible for making a unified arrangement of urban and rural markets and coordinating the commercial activities of different economic sectors. Thirdly, the socialist market is unitary and indivisible. There must be a unified policy. All business operations should be conducted according to the unified policy and subjected to unified management so that commodities will flow in an organized and sound manner.

Su Xing, member of the National CPPCC Committee and director of the economic department of Hongqi, said: The draft of the revised constitution states that the basis of the socialist economic system of the PRC is socialist public ownership of the means of production, that is, ownership by the whole people, and collective ownership by working people. In this way, the CCP Central Committee's principle that China's agriculture should follow the path of socialist collectivization is given a solid foundation in the constitution. This stipulation reflects the aspiration of the 800 million peasants.

CSO: 4005/971

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI RADIO' VIEWS DENG'S OPEN DOOR POLICY

OW120422 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 10 Jun 82

[Text] In recent years Comrade Deng Xiaoping has been anxiously soliciting American, Japanese and West European capitalists to undertake mining and industrial projects or engage in shipping or tourist business in our country. More and more areas have been opened as special economic zones [Jingji Te Qu 4842 3444 3676 0575] so that foreign monopoly capital groups and Hong Kong and Macao capitalists may freely establish enterprises there to earn large amounts of profits. However, what is most serious is that the enjoyment of privileges in our country by foreign capitalists, particularly U.S. imperialist and Japanese militarist capitalist, has been made permanent by writing it into the law. The consequence of this will be very harmful whether from the military, political or economic point of view.

From the military viewpoint, the policy of opening to Japan and the United States is tantamount to inviting wolves into the house, as the saying goes. Take Japan as an example. In the past Japan grew strong by committing aggression against our country. Today, striving for living space is still the prime task for the Japanese nation. Most of the influential persons now in Japan are militarists who previously took part in invading China. Now they are making every effort to revive militarism with the spearhead directed mainly at our country. Of course, they do not represent the Japanese people at large, but it is none other than these Japanese militarists that are making frequent contacts with our party and state leaders and are keen about an economic infiltration into our country. Now let us see the United States. The ultimate goal of the U.S. authorities in maintaining Taiwan's defense capability is to prevent the realization of China's reunification and to use Taiwan as a permanent anti-China fortress. Many key personnel of the U.S. Government have said unreservedly that the United States would be at a grave risk if it lost Taiwan, an unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Pacific, and that China is an old enemy of the United States. In addition, the United States has recently made positive efforts to strengthen its armed forces in South Korea, intensify its strategic position in southeast Asia and expand its Clark Airbase and Subic Naval Base in the Philippines. The U.S. military aid to the Asean countries has increased to more than \$630 million. All these actions, of course, are directed against our country.

From the political viewpoint, since the unprincipled open door policy was put into effect, people have begun to doubt the superiority of the socialist sys-

tem, while the virus of crimes and corruption inherent in capitalist nations has spread here and there in our country. The situation is just like what (Ci Beiou) described in his recent poem: "Vulgar things have become a peril. Vulgar things have become a peril. Why are there so many spiritual poisons? Almost all of them are from abroad. Vulgar songs are corrosive. Pornographic photos show the nude. Pornographic books depict sexual activities. And pornographic films show sexual intercourse. What a serious outcome if these highly corrosive things are allowed to spread unchecked."

Finally, from the economic viewpoint, the United States, Britain and Japan thus far have never provided us with any high technology. The project of the Baoshan Iron and Steel complex built by Japan is actually a case of swindle whereby that country has gained a large sum of money from us. As for investment projects by foreign capitalists, the purpose is also to make unreasonable gains within a short period. What is more, by importing machinery and equipment of different specifications from different companies of different countries, we will have to rely on them forever. Once the situation changes and these companies no longer supply us with spare parts, the machinery and equipment will become nothing but scrap metal.

In view of the above, it is necessary to amend appropriately article 12 of the draft constitution by taking into consideration valuable suggestions from all sources.

CSO: 4005/971

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI' CRITICIZES PRC DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW131952 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 12 Jun 82

[Text] In the current discussion of the revised draft constitution by all units and organizations of the entire army, attention is focused on articles 28, 89 and 94. This is appropriately so because first, these articles directly concern the armed forces, and second, whoever controls the army also decides--to a very great extent--the fate of the party, state and people. History shows that inner party power struggles have always centered around the issue of authority over the army.

Article 28 of the revised draft constitution stipulates that the armed forces of the people's Republic of China belong to the people and that their tasks are to consolidate the national defense, resist aggression, defend the motherland and safeguard the people's peaceful labor. Article 89 stipulates that the state council exercises leadership over the buildup of the armed forces. Article 94 stipulates that the central military commission leads the armed forces of the country.

On the surface, these articles have clearly defined the army's nature and purpose; the army's multilevel leadership is designed to prevent any individual from using the armed forces for selfish ends and to prevent careerists and conspirators from employing the army as a tool to usurp party leadership and state power and suppress the people. But the experience of our party, army and state over the past several decades shows that the better the contents of articles in the constitution, the more difficult it is to implement them. The current revised draft constitution is no exception to this rule.

Since the founding of the republic, our country has had four constitutions. The 1954 constitution was the best one. In it, the army's structure had more levels of leadership than under the present constitution. For instance, under the 1954 constitution, the army was put under the dual leadership of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee and the National Defense Commission of the PRC; the Ministry of National Defense commanded the army; army units stationed in the various localities were subject to the leadership of local party committees; and the first secretary of local provincial party committees also held the post of first political commissar of the local military region or district.

What happened after the 1954 constitution is known to everyone. The army was turned into a tool to serve an individual dictatorship. What really happened was that the people's armed forces were turned into a private army of the chairman of the military commission; its mission of obeying the party leadership and safeguarding the people's peaceful labor was changed to serving the chairman of the military commission and safeguarding the supreme power of the chairman of the military commission; and the army was required to be loyal to the leader alone and not to the people.

This was true in the past. It is still true today. It is precisely for this reason that some people of the central authorities have criticized Comrade Deng Xiaoping for asserting that he can afford to give up the chairmanship of the CCP Central Committee but never the supreme power of the chairman of the military commission.

To prevent situations like those mentioned above from happening again in the future and to truly implement the related articles of the constitution, it is necessary--beginning today--to educate all commanders and fighters to be loyal to the state and the people. It is necessary to make the whole army from top to bottom realize that no individual is worthy of its worship and loyalty. The scandals involving leaders in the central organs exposed during the cultural revolution and the disastrous affects brought about by past personal cults should serve as living examples in this regard. It is necessary to teach both commanders and fighters that blind worship--be it of the gods, ghosts or persons--is foolishness.

Unfortunately, while the pernicious influence of past personal cults has not yet been entirely eradicated, a new cult of worshiping Comrade Deng Xiaoping is already running wild. This is truly unfortunate.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

HONGQI CHIEF EDITOR CRITICIZED--Xiong Fu, chief editor of Hongqi JOURNAL was scathingly condemned by Deng Xiaoping. He was criticized for attacking Deng Xiaoping, by inuendo, in an article published in the No 9 issue of Hongqi. The article praised Zhou Yu, a military commander during the period of the three kingdoms, by saying that Zhu Yu correctly handled veteran General Cheng Pu who disobeyed him. Our forefathers could do it this way, the article said, we communists should do it better. Flying into a rage, Deng Xiaoping replied to Xiong Fu: I don't have to learn any so-called correct ways from our forefathers to cope with Ye Jianying's opposition! [Text] [OW290520 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Jun 82]

NEWLY PROMOTED CADRES ENCOURAGED--On the eve of 1 July, Chen Weida, first secretary of the Tianjin municipal CCP Committee, held a forum of cadres on the capital construction front, encouraging them to study hard, enhance their spirit and make a new start in their work after assuming new posts. Attending the forum were cadres selected during the recent regional organizational reform in accordance with the demand of selecting revolutionarized, young, professional and knowledgeable cadres. During the forum, Comrade Chen Weida cordially inquired about everybody's state of affairs and exchanged views with them on urban construction and the people's livelihood. All participants freely aired their views. Comrade Chen Weida stressed in his speech: "The current organizational reform has great significance in making the party's revolutionary cause prosper. I hope that all cadres who are ready to assume leading posts will study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and scientific and technological knowledge. As long as leading cadres improve theoretical, professional and cultural standards, they can lead the masses to carry out the drive for the four modernizations in a better way." In doing work, cadres must follow the mass line, respect the collective leadership and work honestly and selflessly. [Summary from poor reception] [SK020819 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 2 Jul 82]

TRAIN EXPLOSION--An investigation has revealed that the accident of the Jinan-Jiamusi nonstop express train run No 193, in which more than 200 persons were killed or wounded, was caused by bomb explosions. The investigation group has received a letter signed by an "action committee for rescuing Comrade Jiang Qing." The letter said that the Jinan-Jiamusi nonstop express train explosions and the downing of the passenger airliner nearby Guilin on 26 April were revolutionary actions against Deng Xiaoping's totalitarian dictatorship. [Text] [OW191103 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Jun 82]

DIAOYUDAS, BAOSHAN STEEL--During his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, Premier Zhao Ziyang told his host that he was asked by Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping to tell the prime minister: China will not bring up the Diaoyudao Islands issue again and the Baoshan Iron and Steel Company, which has involved Japan, is not a serious problem. The tremendous amount of funds wasted for that project will not effect Sino-Japanese friendship and cooperation. China will forever open its door to Japan. [Text] [OW191115 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Jun 82]

CLASS STRUGGLE, WASTE--While discussing the draft of the revised constitution, an NPC deputy in Sichuan proposed that the provision that there shall be no more political movements be included in the construction. The constitutional revision committee received a total of more than 54,000 letters regarding this issue. But the draft of the revised constitution still insists that "class struggle will continue to exist for a long time to come, and the Chinese people must struggle." In other words, certain people among the central authorities still insist on carrying out political movements. A cadre of the state statistical bureau, while discussing the draft of the revised constitution, said that although the previous constitution also stipulated that it was necessary to strictly practice economy and oppose waste this provision was ineffective. Over the past 4 years over 10 billion yuan has been wasted as a result of unrealistically importing equipment from abroad, construction of the Baoshan steel complex and disposing of scrapped products in conducting inventories. He said that nobody has been punished by law because of such waste. [Text] [OW121241 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 June 82]

REPLACING ARMY LEADERS OPPOSED--At a recent enlarged meeting of the party Central Committee's military commission, Comrade Zhang Aiping said: I do not quite agree with Comrade Xiaoping's idea of replacing a large number of leading cadres in the army. According to legend, in the later period of the warring states, the king of the state of Zhao replaced his famous General Lian Po with a younger General Zhao Kuo. As a result, the army of the state of Zhao was defeated by the army of the state of Qin and 400,000 troops of Zhao were killed. [Text] [OW121245 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Jun 82]

YOUTHS RELUCTANT TO JOIN PARTY--At a meeting of the party Central Committee's secretariat, Comrade Hu Yaobang criticized the CYL Central Committee for failing to do a good job in ideological education among young people. He said: Now most young people are reluctant to join the party. As a result, there are too few party members under the age of 25. The CYL should actively help in party building. [Text] [OW121247 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Jun 82]

PENG DEHUI--(Liu Hanru), a rebel ringleader, personally tormented and humiliated Comrade Peng Dehuai. According to records on the former's trial, in the summer of 1974 Huang Kecheng, Zhang Aiping and other comrades in arms and friends of Commander in Chief Peng asked Comrade Deng Xiaoping to help the then seriously sick Comrade Peng Dehuai by allowing him to receive medical treatment. At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had some power in the party Central Committee, but he ignored this request. (Liu Hanru) also admitted that beginning from the autumn of 1974, Comrade Peng Dehuai was secretly given doses of slow poison to take. He finally died of poisoning on 29 November 1974. [Text] [OW121243 (Clandestine) Ba Yi in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Jun 82]